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THESIS

Workers' Education

by

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INTRODUCTION

Education for workers in the United States can be traced back to the nineteenth century to the various mechanics' institutes and trade union schools. It did not develop into a movement until after World War I. From that time on this field has gradually expanded until today where some of the large unions have put millions of dollars into education for their members.

As these programs were developing here in the United States, considerable work had been done to develop Workers' Education in Europe, particularly in England and the Scandinavian countries. An example of this is the relationship in England between the universities and the Workers' Education Association which assumed a definite shape in 1907 when a joint education program was established. The experiences that these foreign countries had in the field of labor education were not used in America to any great extent in establishing workers' education programs here.

During the past few years, organized labor has seen a need for education in two directions. One, to place before workers a clearer knowledge of the present day social and economic problems and the importance of labor unions; two, to educate the general public in the meaning and purposes of the labor movement. By doing this, more unorganized workers have joined unions, and the public has gradually lessened its bitterness towards unions.

There are several varieties of education activities in unions and each one has its purpose. To break it down, there are six major divisions -

1. To create legislative and political action, there are campaigns and informational services directed by unions.

2. To properly run unions, there are training courses in leadership for union organizers, stewards, and other officers.

3. To improve the skills of older workers and to train apprentices, there are vocational programs.

4. There are classes and printed material for the rank and file members to help them attain a better understanding of economics and labor problems.

5. There are classes to improve the cultural development of workers as well.

6. There are programs set up to inform the public of the aims and activities of unions.

Although both vocational and workers' education programs are covered here, there is a distinct difference between them. Workers' Education refers to the programs which are concerned with the study of economics and social problems, the activities of the labor movement, and the teaching of subjects for those who will assume positions of leadership in the unions, such as, parliamentary law and public speaking. Vocational training is the preparing of apprentices in shop work, and also the training of older workers in new skills and methods to be

used in their work which will help both the worker and the employer.

From time to time articles have been written in magazines and journals on the field of Workers' Education. Mark Starr, director of the Education Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union gave the Inglis Lecture of 1946 at Harvard University on the subject "Labor Looks at Education". The "Journal of Adult Education" frequently has articles dealing with this subject, one of the best was the article "Workers' Education" by Mollie Carroll and Spencer Miller, Jr. in the October, 1934 edition. Florence Peterson, director of Industrial Relations Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Labor Department, has written considerably on this subject. In her book, "American Labor Unions", she has devoted part of it to a discussion of Workers' Education as to its importance in our society, and its value to the individual worker and his employer. Also, a description of the work some unions have done in this field is thoroughly discussed and analyzed.

Universities have published material on the work the particular university is doing in Workers' Education, as well as other universities, schools, and the unions themselves. Unions have spent large sums of money in publishing material by which they hope to show the general public the value of Workers' Education and also to enlist their aid in the form of government support, Federal, State, and Municipal, grants, funds,

and volunteer aid from persons who are teachers especially.

The second chapter is a general discussion of the major education activities of selected unions through the United States. The third and fourth chapters are devoted to a detail analysis of the education programs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the United Auto Workers of the C.I.O. In the fifth chapter, nation-wide agencies which help to organize and develop education activities in unions; some of them are operated by unions and others are independent, and operate with the financial aid from trusts, funds, general public, and union gifts. Also a description of Resident and Political Schools is given in this chapter. A detailed study of the part universities play in Workers' Education is covered in Chapter six. In the final chapter the conclusion of this research is stated. At the end of each chapter the sources of material for that chapter are listed.

After securing the name of an official, preferably a director of education program, of many unions all over the United States, a letter was mailed to each stating in detail that a description of the union's education program and any other important information concerning that field would be greatly appreciated. Several times a second and third letter would have to be sent before all desired material was received. Any college and universities having any Workers' Education program of any note, was contacted and material was received from them. Books and magazine and journal articles were read and notes

were taken on many of them. Also, direct contacts with top union officials, such as letters from President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, etc. were very helpful. Finally Dean William G. Sutcliffe and Professor Albert Roy, Associate Librarian of the College of Business Administration of Boston University, gave the author invaluable assistance in the way of material and advice throughout the preparation and writing of this thesis.

CHAPTER I

SURVEY OF EDUCATION ACTIVITIES IN SELECTED UNIONS

In recent years, unions have started to recognize the great importance of workers' education. The movement has been gaining headway steadily, and the variety of classes and projects have grown greatly. Some of these programs are new, and others have been conducted for many years. This chapter will be a survey of some of the outstanding education programs and progress that selected unions have made in recent years. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union's and the United Auto Workers - C.I.O. education programs will be discussed in two separate chapters.

Federation of Architects, Technicians, Engineers, and Chemists

Since 1936 the Federation of Architects, Technicians, Engineers, and Chemists, have run a school in New York City with facilities to accommodate 600 students in which technical and vocation work are combined with courses in public speaking, American Labor history, and economics. This union ran for its fellow C.I.O. unions in 1939 a class in efficiency systems and labor incentive plans. Post-graduate courses in engineering, architecture, and chemistry designed to prepare students for state profession license examinations and for civil service are given in this school. There is a new plan where the United Auto Workers - C.I.O. and this union will cooperate in setting up a course in time-motion study. Also plans have been proposed

where this union and a maritime union will run a course in shipbuilding for their members.

Textile Workers of America

A special educational problem faced Textile Workers Union of America as its large number of new members had very little knowledge of unionism. Activities include the formation of women's auxiliaries whose main functions were to create recreational activities, and develop a demand for union-made goods among women. Effort has been made to bring the whole family into the life of the unions. Junior unions have been organized for the children in the South.. Dramatics and movies have proved to be very popular among members. In 1940, Local 178 of Clifton Heights, Pennsylvania, bought itself a holiday home and headquarters. Also at this time, by the aid of the William Roy Smith Memorial Fund, 9000 workers at the Celanese Corporation of Cumberland, Maryland set up its program by running a social science workshop there. (1)

In the classes and conferences and summer institutes dealing with the technological aspects of this industry, this union's members are taught the history, development, and economic importance of their industry, how to participate in contract negotiations, how to make time studies, etc. In the rayon locals, committee men are taught the facts of carbon bisulphide poisoning which is prevalant in the rayon industry. These men then teach the members of their locals the facts of this poisoning, what can be done about it, how to treat it, and how to know

(1) "Workers' Education Today" - by Mark Starr - page 28

one has it. The national office loans a movie projector to the locals, and the Research Department runs a book and pamphlet club. It also supplies factual reports that is supplementary material to the monthly paper.

United Office and Professional Workers

This union now has educational committees in nearly all of its 85 locals. The activities vary somewhat from locality to locality. The programs include dances, inter and intra-union basketball games, swimming contests, classes in the theory of trade unionism, and in economics, choral, orchestral, and dramatic groups, forums on current events, literary topics, social psychology, art, health, the National Labor Relations Board, and the American Labor Party. These activities vary considerably with the community. In 1938-1939 a diversified program of about 25 activities open to all members was set up by the New York joint council, composed of representatives from all the New York locals with a membership of close to 16,000.(1) In 1939-1940 there were 400 students in the craft classes, 500 in gym and swimming, 150 in dance, drama, and chorus, also close to 5000 were reached by forums and meetings of various types. This union started a health and hospital service; a consumer service in cooperation with Consumers' Union; and a play contest in cooperation with the New Theatre League.

Advertising Guild Local (20) and Book and Magazine Guild (Local 18)

The Advertising Guild (Local 20) offered seven craft

(1) "Workers' Education Today" - by Mark Starr - page 30

courses, and the Book and Magazine Guild (Local 18) offered eight technical courses for publishing workers. In 1940 sessions in stenography and office practice were offered to the office workers (Local 16). The cost per course was $10.00 per course for members and $15.00 per course for non-members. In 1939-1940, the New York Joint Council ran courses in training for active leadership, legislative activity, health, trade unionism and democracy.

Aluminum Workers of America

In New Kensington, Pennsylvania, the Aluminum Workers of America have continually expanded their education programs. Classes conducted by the local unions were to develop social, sport, and educational activities. In 1939-1940 with the help of the Federated Labor Schools, forums, classes, a library set up, and educational movie showings were run by Local 2 of this union. This local even has a juvenile drum and bugle corp, a glee club, and an active sports program.

Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers is a good example of a small union with a very active education program. Local 1 of Camden, New Jersey runs a library for members, basketball, bowling, and football teams, forums, public speaking, and a Shop Officers Training class with visiting experts. This local started to build its own headquarters with space for study and sport groups, in January, 1941. "The Shipyard Worker" the union's news is published monthly, filled with all types of information to help

its members. Other locals of this union, while not as active as Local 1 in education programs, are beginning to expand their facilities at a fast rate, at present.

United Transport Service Employees Union (Red Caps)

Forums, classes, lectures in union meetings, sport activities, etc. are carried on for the members of the United Transport Service Employees Union (Red Caps). It is figured that 400 members participate in this program, chiefly from Chicago. It has a Women's Auxiliary which is very active in this education program. The Education Department does most of its work through mimeographed publications and its journal "Bags and Baggage". The main reason for this is that one out of every three men that carries your bags has had college training![1]

Oil Workers International Union

For many years the Oil Workers International Union has associated itself with the extension services of several state universities in the states where oil is produced and refined. Economics of wages, real wages and dollar wages, labor costs and production costs of the industries, and the history of the labor movement are the courses given. Pamphlets are prepared and set out to union members concerning economic questions associated with the oil industry. Locals at Philadelphia, Pasadena, and Carlisle, Texas are stepping up their education programs with hopes of getting uniformity in education programs

(1) "Workers' Education Today" - by Mark Starr - page 26

in the entire union.

United Mine Workers

The United Mine Workers have done little in the way of stimulating educational activity compared to other unions in this country. For many years the union was connected with the Workers' Education Bureau. From the material studied it seems that this agency helped the United Mine Workers very little. Some of the locals have athletic teams.

The operators of the large mines conduct weekly classes in mine development and the handling of mine machinery. The miners themselves conduct classes in first aid and safety. The miners are told about a very good correspondence course given by the International Correspondence School. Many miners take advantage of it. The union's magazine, "Mine Workers' Journal", give vital information to its members from time to time, such as, benefits they will receive, explanations of current questions, etc.

Transport Workers' Union

At the first convention held by the Transport Workers' Union in 1937, an extensive program headed by a full-time educational director was voted. Classes are conducted in the morning, afternoon and evening so as to accommodate the various shifts of the subway, taxi, and bus workers. The union hopes to induce at least 10 percent of its 50,000 New York members to take part in its classes and activities.

Courses in public speaking (with its own handbook), parliamentary procedure, principles and problems of unionism,

use of American democracy, photography, dramatics, and leadership courses are major subjects in the program. The union also lends and sells books which aids members in connection with civil service requirements for promotion in the jobs under public ownership. The Ladies' Auxiliary provide dancing and recreation classes for children. A wide sport program is organized with teams in bowling, basketball, and baseball. The teams are active in the New York Trade Union Athletic Association which is composed of 60 C.I.O. and a few left-wing A.F.L. locals, and miscellaneous groups.

Officers training courses for section officers, stewards and committeemen, classes in first aid and home dress designing, were added to the program in 1940. In the same year, 160 members received certificates for completing the union training courses.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers

In common with the other needle trade unions the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has had a tradition of education. The immigrant workers who joined this union were eager for knowledge which was closed to them under the Old Work oppression. In 1938, a "Department of Cultural Activities" was set up, and seven regional conferences were held to explain the functions of this newly formed department. The monthly publication, "Advance", of the union, explains correspondence courses, summer institutes, classes, sports, and recreational activities that are taking place, and that will place, with the dates, costs, locations of them. The United Laundry Workers (Local 300 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) has established a

comprehensive cultural and recreational program for both the young and old in New York City.

In a report published by this union in 1940 showed the number of members taking part in the different programs and activities. There were 900 representatives of local cultural activity groups participated in eight regional two-day conferences to discuss cultural programs. In sports and recreational activity, five thousand men and women took part. In 1939 and 1940, three thousand members took advantage of one or more correspondence courses.(1) There were 3500 members that took part in the Active Workers Schools and Officers Institutes which operated in ten cities during 1940. Choruses, orchestras, dramatic groups, musical shows, dance groups drew over 3000 members, while 500 children took part in various activities, mostly dancing.

Two hundred and fifty members graduated in 1939 and 500 received the "Certificate of Merit" in 1940 from the Active Workers Schools. The courses that a member could take at the cost of 50 cents each were as follows - clothing, unionism, trade union problems, democracy: aims and practices, collective bargaining, public speaking, reading to advantage, and first aid for writers.

When World War II came the Educational Department became the War Activities Department which devoted its attention to Red Cross work and other services programs. The wartime record of this department was highly regarded by the Red Cross,

(1) "Workers' Education Today" - by Mark Starr - page 19

and other agencies as outstanding.

In the fall of 1946 the new Education Department was organized, with a new director and a new program. The new program has three basic aims - political education, and action on the part of the entire membership of the union; integration of new members into the active union program; and finally the development of union leadership.

This new program can be divided into two branches of activity.

First, the National Education Program which coordinates local and regional education programs. Function of this part of the program is as follows -

1. Plans weekend and week long conferences.

2. Started a co-operative food distribution program with plans to put it on a national basis.

3. Sponsors a book club for members and staff.

4. Runs a central film program for information and distribution of current films to locals and joint boards.

5. Pamphlets and other material are also distributed through this department, plus union records, posters, etc.

6. This National Education Department assists local and regional education directors in planning their programs.

Part two of this new program is the education programs of the Joint Boards carried out locally -

1. Local education directors promote leadership -

training programs and trains shop committees to function smoothly.

2. Complete programs are conducted to integrate new members into the union, and develop them into union leadership.

3. Finally, emphasis is on political action, and on all recent developments relating to this; economic, legislative, and political.

With the development of this new program, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has taken a big step toward establishing a good Education Program to meet the needs of the union and its members.

American Federation of Hosiery Workers

In 1937, at the American Federation of Hosiery Workers' convention, it was voted to establish an education department that would help the locals in their programs and activities that they have been carrying on for several years. Outlines have been written on parliamentary law, how to start classes, guide for local public committees, etc.

There is an opportunity for 70% of the union membership to take part in classes and other activities. In 1939, over 500 students attended classes, and 1500 participated in recreation activities. This union works with the local colleges in areas where membership is large enough to do it.

The union also runs institutes for training its active members. These are held for one week periods at the Highlander Folk School, Southern Summer School, and the Wisconsin School

for Workers.

International Printing Pressmen's Union

The International Printing Pressmen's Union has spent $2,000,000 in promoting an educational and research program to serve its 50,000 members and 1200 registered apprentices (1942). In 1912 it set up its own technical trade school. Before any new equipment is placed on the market for sale, it is secured by the school at least six months in advance. The union members are given intensive training courses of three weeks to six months in duration to learn new techniques and to acquire all round technical ability. As many as 8000 members have completed correspondence courses provided by the union. In addition, 600 members took advantage of courses given in the union's branch schools. The main problem this union has is the cost of providing modern equipment for its Trade School and also to pay for a training program in social science so as to make the union more effective in attacking and improving the present day social problems. The union feels it may receive some subsidies from employers to help cover the cost of some of the expensive training equipment, but nothing for their other program.

Journeymen Barbers' International

The final union to be mentioned is the Journeymen Barbers' International. This union runs its own school. It also has a barber science correspondence course with its own textbook. This education program has proved invaluable to

many young men who wanted to enter this occupation, but found it difficult because of the long period of training with an experienced barber at very low wages because most barbers do not need extra help.

A very important element in the education programs in unions is the state and city groups which help coordinate the education programs of several unions in a given area.

Kenosha (Wisconsin) Workers Educational Council

The Kenosha (Wisconsin) Workers Educational Council stands out as having successfully combined the activities of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. unions in its area. - It published a journal of a study of 10 local unions and how they studied and solved the problem of collective bargaining, and how the unions trained members to handle these problems. This manual has been widely used and quoted. Later it ran a Union Clinic to deal with the big problem of interesting and activating union members. It also helped to set up and run councils similar to its own throughout the state. This gained ground during the 1937-1939 years before the State cut its education subsidy to unions and universities. This council plays a big part in the running of the Wisconsin Workers' Education conference each time it meets.

Greater New York C.I.O. Council

Another council which does a great deal in this type of coordinating work is the Greater New York C.I.O. Council. The educational work done by this council is primarily planned to assist local union educational directors. Their work is

chiefly to furnish educational directors with material on specific national and local C.I.O. campaigns, furnish them with material to help in developing understanding among the members of the need for union organization, calling their attention to new books, pamphlets, posters, 16 mm. films, slide films, etc., which would be useful in carrying on educational work.

From time to time the council conducts some classes and workshop conferences. There are two types - one exampl - to train people who will teach a given subject in their union, such as, political action work; the other kind, to train people in specific techniques - such as, classes on writing and preparing union newspapers, and shop bulletins, writing and designing mimeographed leaflets.

The council issues "Fact Sheets" on subjects of current interest. These are sent to people who run the Speakers Bureau, local union educational directors, labor press editors, and other interested union members.

Each year the council runs a one week summer school which is attended by members of various unions located in the area covered by this council. The following subjects are taught at the school; General Labor History, C.I.O. History and Organization, Economics, Political Action, Techniques of Educational Work, and the use of Visual Aids of Education. In regards to courses such as English, Mathematics, etc. for most part the council finds free public night schools for the

members of unions wishing to take those courses.

This council is headed by officers and a board of directors, which is made up of representatives from the following unions in the area; Auto, Barbers, Brewery, Clothing, Communications, Electrical and Radio, Food and Tobacco, Fur and Leather, Furniture, Gas, Coke, Lithographers, Maritime, Marine Cooks, Mine, Mill, Newspaper, Office, Packing, Public, Railroad, Retail, Ship, Shoe, Transport, and Transport Services. By having such a cross-section of representatives from the various unions, the Greater New York C.I.O. Council is able to have the various unions bring their problems to this Council to be worked out. This Council has proved to be very successful.

In this chapter a selection of union education programs of unions, both trade and industrial, have been discussed. They have been selected from the various parts of the country with the purpose in mind of trying to show that education activity is going on all over the United States, but that some of the unions are just beginning, and others have been in this field for many years. Also, some locals of many unions are more active in this field than other locals of the same unions. Some stress has been put on the part that State and City Councils play in coordinating the education activities of union in the area covered by the councils.

The material that this chapter is based on is letters and pamphlets sent by the various union education directors, the book "Workers' Education Today" by "Mark Starr", informa-

tion from the various councils, and the book "American Labor Unions" by "Florence Peterson".

CHAPTER II

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

This union is one of several that are maintaining an extensive educational program directed by a special department within the union. Each local of the I.L.G.W.U.(1) has some sort of an educational setup for its members. It depends on the size of the local and also where it is situated in this country.

The central education department of this union helps prepare and organize the material and the courses for all the locals within the union. It also cooperates with other unions, Government agencies, the general public, and colleges and universities in helping to promote better educational facilities and programs to help increase and improve the educational standards of the laborer.

This chapter is based on books, letters, pamphlets, describing how this union attempts to do this. The analysis starts from the time union was founded and traces the development of the union and its department of education to the present time.

On June 23, 1900, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Many members of the union were Americans who had left their homes in Poland, Hungary, Russia, Italy and Germany because of the "life, liberty, and pursuit of happi-

(1) I.L.G.W.U. is the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union"

ness", promised by the New World.

These people soon found that things were a little different. They had to work in sweat shops for 60 to 80 hours a week for very low wages. Yet, their desire to make their dreams of prosperity and good living conditions in this country come true, that their constant search for information and knowledge never ended. These hard working individuals would gather in small groups from time to time, and talk over their problems. This, in turn, developed into forums, informal debates, and public meetings on questions pertaining to economic, social, and political problems.

In 1909 and 1910, two great strikes took place. This led to a mass influx of young garment workers into this union. The union at this time signed its first collective agreement between the union and the employers' associations. This reduced many of the abuses of the industry, and in their place, the six day week, weekly payments in cash, 10 legal holidays, and the workers did not have to pay rent for the use of their machines, were instituted. This brought great prestige to this union.

During 1913, one local of this union, New York Waistmakers, started courses in English, as well as courses in trade-union instruction to help immigrant members. A year later at the I.L.G.W.U's. national convention, it was decided that the union should "dwell particularly on the preparatory

work of education".(1) The Rand School of Social Sciences was established, and courses in the history and practices of trade unionism was given.

In 1916 the I.L.G.W.U. set up an educational department. In 1917 this department set in motion a full scale program. The union started a Workers' University in New York City, and evening school classes known as Unity Centers were started by this educational department. Other locals in other cities as in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Montreal, Newark, Worcester, Cleveland, and Cincinnati set forth corresponding programs. The courses were of a wide variety - from English and naturalization classes to labor problems, philosophy, and world literature.

In 1921 and 1924 immigration laws were changed and immigration of workers was greatly reduced. Up to this time the I.L.G.W.U. had helped hundreds of its members to become citizens of the United States. The number of English classes at the Workers' University was reduced, and more classes in physical training, literature, labor problems, health, music appreciation, and forums were added. The educational department tried hard to keep up with the changing times.

This union withstood the recession of 1920-1922, and the I.L.G.W.U. looked forward to a period of growth. In 1926, trouble broke out in this union. Communists gained control of the New York Board, and they started a long unsuccessful strike in which the unions treasury was emptied.

(1) From Annual Report ofUnion's Convention in 1914

Before the union could recover, the 1929 depression started and with it brought the period of greatest unemployment ever known. Union members by the thousand lost their jobs. The I.L.G.W.U. remained intact, but it did not begin to regain its previous position until 1933, with the passage of the National Recovery Act, which outlawed company unions and prohibited employers from interfering with labor organizing activities.

The I.L.G.W.U. immediately started to take advantage of this new opportunity. They started a very successful drive throughout the United States to enroll new members. By 1937 the membership had increased to 225,000.

It was found that the new members added during this membership drive were American-born women representing many national and social organs but they were brought up in localities where there were no unions. President David Dubinsky said, "the department now had to weld and keep together the masses who until now were strangers to trade-union organization."(1)

The I.L.G.W. union officials thought it a necessity for these new members to know something of the history, methods and ideals of trade unionism in general, and also information pertaining to their particular local union. Besides a course in how to run meetings, negotiate contracts, organize their fellow workers, and settle grievances, programs in sports and recreation were started. At I.L.G.W.U. centers record-break-

(1) From pamphlet printed 1946 by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

ing attendance was reached in courses in economics, labor problems, social history, history of labor movements, English, public speaking, and parliamentary law, as well as music, arts, drama, trips to places of interest, sports, and lectures.

The officers of I.L.G.W.U. believed that the more the membership knew about the actual operation and maintainance of the union the stronger the union would grow. A special training program in trade unionism was introduced. Beside classes for new members; courses for potential officers, shop chairmen, and local executive board members; instruction in the structure and functioning of the I.L.G.W.U.; the techniques used in conducting meetings, striking and presenting employee demands, organizing, negotiating, and keeping union records.

It was seen that the officers and members benefited a great deal by this program. In the convention of 1937 the I.L.G.W.U. constitution was amended so that it was compulsory for all new candidates for full-time union posts to complete the Officers' Qualifications courses.

The I.L.G.W.U. called the years 1937-1942 the "Years of Maturity". During the years of 1937 and 1938 this union sponsored a college essay contest on "The Legal Responsibilities of Trade Unions". It offered over $1500 in prize money. At this time, the union offered its own members seventeen scholarships to those who wished to attend workers' summer schools at the Hudson Shore Labor School and the

University of Wisconsin.

At this time, the cultural and recreational activities took another step forward. The I.L.G.W.U. produced a musical revue, "Pins and Needles". It made a successful cross-country tour and it played two years on Broadway.

I.L.G.W.U. art students held art exhibits in New York, New Jersey, and Canada. Public concerts were given by the union's chorus and mandolin orchestra.

The union's recreational programs increased and enrollments rose rapidly. (See table at end of chapter.) Local unions sponsored teams in basketball, baseball, and soccer; while individual members played golf, tennis, archery, wrestling, horseback riding, and attended I.L.G.W.U. sponsored bowling and gym classes. Each year the union runs an Annual Labor Sports Carnival held at the New York Municipal Stadium at Randall's Island. More than one-third of the teams which compete wear I.L.G.W.U. letters.

The union owns and operates a million dollar vacation center, known as Unity House. It is located on 850 acres in the Pocono Mountains. There are lecture halls, athletic fields, lake, theaters, tennis courts spread out over the area. Each summer the I.L.G.W.U. provides outstanding entertainers, dancers, concert artists, lecturers, and sport champions to entertain the union members while they are on vacation at the Unity House. It is run on a non-profit basis and at rates that all members can afford.

On December 7, 1941, the United States went to war. From that date on, the union changed many of its policies in order to bring the I.L.G.W.U. more in line with the war effort. The educational departments shifted its program from peace to war. Special classes in first aid, home nursing, nutrition, consumer problems and knitting were added to the curriculum. A Women's Service Brigade to which workers were eligible to join upon successful completion of the courses previously mentioned. This union helped to organize relief campaigns and other civilian wartime drives. The members operated canteens in St. Louis, Boston, New York, and Kansas City for servicemen.

The educational department brought five thousand dollars worth of books which were placed on ships bought by the War Bonds subscribed to by the union members. During the members' spare time, they made garments for bomb victims, donated blood, raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for relief work, rest homes and schools. The union members bought millions of dollars' worth of War Bonds. Also, during many of the special drives while World War II was on, members set up booths in certain localities and sold many dollars' worth of bonds.

During World War II classes were reduced because many of the union members went into the Service. Even at that 17,000 workers enrolled in classes in 1942. A movie service called "Movies for Morale", furnished wartime films to locals free of charge. The education department estab-

lished a plan where members could buy books at reduced prices. This book purchasing service was increased so more members would be able to buy books at cost. The cultural activities were reduced but concerts were still conducted to help sell hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of War Bonds.

This union spends a great deal of money each year working with management trying to improve production and cut costs. Some of the machinery and methods of production used in the garment factories today was invented and promoted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Cooperation between this union and the management of the garment factories is outstanding today.

In the future, the I.L.G.W.U. plans to continue its educational program. It will constantly try to enlarge the program and to modernize it in order to keep up with the changing times. It, the I.L.G.W.U., wants to go further than to just attempt to wipe out illiteracy but to try to educate the workers to work together and play together in harmony. As technological progress advances and more leisure time is provided for workers through time saving methods the I.L.G.W.U. want their facilities for enjoyment of this time expanded to make room for every member to have a good time.

This union plans to work more and more with other unions, with the Government, and with the general public, to provide better educational facilities, more jobs, and better understanding among everyone in the World.

TABLE I

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Report - Educational Department - June 1, 1935, to May 31, 1946

Summary 1935-1946

Classes and Groups

Year	Locals & St. Bds. Participating	Study Classes	Music	Dramatics	Athletics	Gym	Dancing	Total Groups	Total Participants
1935-36	59	293	55	33	51	54	21	507	15,000
1936-37	76	317	44	37	51	71	33	553	20,000
1937-38	75	309	70	37	37	84	37	620	22,050
1938-39	74	268	117	74	59	100	59	673	16,464
1939-40	76	261	120	80	50	142	50	703	17,000
1940-41	79	290	103	42	41	172	56	704	16,800
1941-42	87	494	102	30	116	168	58	968	19,887
1942-43	82	418	56	19	126	52	34	705	17,235
1943-44	72	265	45	10	107	39	23	489	11,878
1944-45	56	112	28	5	49	24	15	233	6,840
1945-46	72	152	30	7	60	32	25	306	8,962

Study Classes

Economics

Trade Union History
Trade Union Techniques
Arts and Crafts
Health and Nutrition

English

Esperanto
Parliamentary Law
Public Speaking
Psychology

Consumer Classes
Labor Problems
Music Appreciation
Current Events

TABLE I (continued)

Year	Institutes and Scholarships (I.L.G.W.U.) (Institutes) Number	Students	Scholarships at Labor Schools
1935-36	8	280	11
1936-57	5	164	23
1937-38	3	140	17
1938-39	4	208	12
1939-40	4	205	3
1940-41	4	230	5
1941-42	5	264	4
1942-43	3	185	8
1943-44	3	220	6
1944-45	7	465	5
1945-46	10	476	11

CHAPTER III

UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF C.I.O.

The automotive industry is considered one of the wonders of the twentieth century. From the point of view of size, the gigantic output, profits, number of employees, and the mechanical perfection, the industry has been a wonder.

One may be amazed to learn that the workers which keep the production of this huge industry flowing used to be under paid, cruelly treated, fired when retirement neared for them, and the working conditions under which the men toiled were of the worst. In the early 1900's profits in these automobile corporations were very high - Ford profits in 1903 were 377.6 percent of net worth; in 1910 were 215.2 percent: as late as 1922 they were 75 percent.

There was no job security. Men were over worked and made to keep pace with high speed machines. These months were in between months of complete factory closedowns. There was no unemployment compensation to fill in these gaps.

Following these closedowns no one knew who would be rehired. The men who remembered the foreman on Christmas etc. were the ones most likely rehired.

As the average man could not maintain the pace of the companies' speed-up programs, men could not usually work in the automotive industry after 40 years of age. It was difficult for these men to find work in any company because by the time these men were retrained for their new work, they

were of little value for the few remaining years they could work.

The industry formed the Automobile Manufacturers' Association. Cooperation was very close between the companies. A government investigation in 1934 found that the companies had an inter-locking black-list system: to be fired from one company for union or other forbidden activities meant you were barred from the entire industry.

The automotive industry had another iron hand over its workers. Each large company had its own detective agency or hired one from the outside to spy on its workers. In addition, the companies hired some of its own workers to be spies. A worker could not tell whether the man who worked beside him was a friend or a company spy ready toreport any forbidden talk heard from the worker against the company.

The question arises why the workers did not join the union before the year 1933. The main reason was there was no existing form of organization suitable to the automotive industry. It was a mass production industry which broke down the jobs of its workers into specialized categories. The one way to organize was to have one single industrial union - an industry-wide union that took in all workers employed in an industry.

The A.F.L. did make numerous attempts to organize the auto workers, but each attempt failed because of the separate unions for each job classification. Nothing was really accomplished until the Wagner Act came into being.

By the determined force of workers many of the outlawed labor practices were stopped.

In 1935 a revolt was brewing inside the A.F. of L. led by John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Sidney Hillman. Several unions in the A.F. of L. formed the committee for Industrial Organization. In 1937, the A.F. of L. expelled these unions, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The United Auto Workers had affiliated with the C.I.O. and, of course, they were expelled also.

It was not long before the U.A.W. of the C.I.O. started to test its strength. In 1937, the great General Motors sit-downs took place and the first real victory was won. By September, 1937, the U.A.W. had contracts with 400 companies compared with the 16 agreements it held in June 1936.

Due to internal trouble in the Union, in 1938 and 1939, the membership dropped, and union recognition did not gain in the automotive industry. In Cleveland, 1939, the U.A.W. convention elected R.J. Thomas to the presidency. It started from the ground up to build its membership and to increase its recognition in the automotive industry. In late 1939, after a series of strikes in General Motors and Chrysler Corporations these companies recognized the U.A.W. On April 10, 1941 the last big company, Ford, recognized the U.A.W. after the Ford management forced an unsuccessful showdown.

This union still went on and organized the workers of several large aircraft companies, Curtis-Wright Company in the East, Goodyear Aircraft, Douglas, etc. In 1943, President R. J. Thomas of U.A.W. set the membership goal at one million members.

When World War II approached, the United Auto Workers pledged themselves to the United War Effort. It helped lay the plans to convert production to making war equipment. It promised not to cut down production by strikes. The leaders of this large union had representatives on War Labor Board, War Policy Committees, Labor Advisory Committee and several Joint Labor-Management Production Committees in Washington, D.C.

Each year the United Auto Workers' leaders have tried to better the conditions of its members in all ways possible, such as, higher wages, vacations, better working conditions, education facilities, cooperatives owned and operated for members to buy their food stuff from, and many other advantages. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the U.A.W. Education Department.

This department does three main functions, it prepares material for the general public, showing what the U.A.W. is doing to improve conditions of everyone, as to housing, wage standards, etc., as well as the conditions of its own members; promote more interest in union activities and meetings by its members, and finally to actually try to lift the education standards of its members.

Each local has some education facilities, from a library to complete courses in Economics, Journalism, Parliamentary Law, Radio, Counselling, Drama, History, Speech and so on. Incentives for the members to complete these courses are U.A.W. - C.I.C. Leadership Training Buttons. A button and a certificate is given each member who completes a course. Each member who completes four courses in the program receives a diploma signed by the U.A.W. - C.I.C. top officers and a four-star button.

The Education Department prints "Ammunition", a monthly magazine, which tells simply, in pictures and text, how the members of the U.A.W. can go about securing a better way of life for themselves and their families. Each article is reprinted separately and can be used as a leaflet. It is free to all local union officers, and one dollar per year to members.

The Turnover Talk is a story or a course printed on charts which are connected to a portable stand. Union leaders in locals use these charts, with discussion guides to help teach members the important functions of U.A.W., the duties of officers, committeemen, and stewards, and finally to aid in teaching complete courses mentioned above.

At present more than forty local unions of the U.A.W. - C.I.C. now put on radio programs regularly and most of them use the scripts the U.A.W. - C.I.C. Broadcaster Service supplies every two weeks. Fifteen minute musical programs on records also tell about the U.A.W.

Union activities in song.

"Target For Tomorrow" is called a double-feature program. The U.A.W. Education Department supplies one feature and each local provides the other. A specific program for a set target might be for better housing, lower prices, credit unions, or cooperatives, plus a comic strip on one side of a mimeographed sheet of paper. On the other side of the paper each local mimeographs union news and the local education committee news.

The Education Department of U.A.W. - C.I.O. has a library of films. Each local can order from a catalog any film listed, it wishes, for use at union meetings. Many of them have a great deal of educational value, while others are for amusement only.

Throughout the country the Education Department are placing U.A.W. Regional Education Representatives to help each local union with any education program problems. It has been found that these representatives have given very valuable assistance to these locals. This in turn has greatly developed and expanded the U.A.W. - C.I.O. Education Program.

On January 24, 25, and 26, 1947 in Cleveland the largest union education conference in the history of the American labor movement was held. There the most modern education techniques were analyzed and studied. In addition to conference discussions, there were workshops and demonstrations in education methods for the education committeemen.

More regional conferences over weekends, and mobile units moving continously from one U.A.W. community to the next, with a staff skilled in training union leaders and in teaching the techniques the education committeemen require, were two proposals given at this convention mentioned previously. At present, great strides have been made in developing these two plans.

Summer school attendance was 2,500 in 1947. Plans are now laid for permanent camp sites in every region of the U.A.W. - C.I.O. in conjunction with State Industrial Union Councils, with city councils or with other International Unions, or alone if this is necessary. The U.A.W. plans to expand the summer training programs, set up more children's camps, and finally to use them for summer resorts for the U.A.W. - C.I.O. families.

More emphasis is now placed on recreation. During the year 1947, the Education Department helped organize the Union Theatre. The new Recreation Department is now sponsoring its shows. Bowling leagues are being formed and competition is keen among the local unions. Each month this department writes articles on how to play various sports, such as, golf, tennis, etc. and they are printed in the monthly magazine "Ammunition". Plans are being drawn up for leagues in other sports, also.

Scholarships, Fellowships, more extensive use of correspondence courses, more U.A.W. - C.I.O. book stores are

being set up and before long this Education Department will be one of the most complete of its kind.

From the material the author was able to get from this union, it seems that this Education Department concentrates its activities on trying to make its members better union men. To know what the union offers its members, how the union goes about getting higher wages, better working conditions, etc., to raise the education standards of its members and their families, and to help its members with their personal problems, are the chief functions of this department. Of course, the union spends a great deal of money training many of its members for responsible union jobs to carry on the union's work. Actual cooperation between this union, U.A.W., and the management of the automotive industry does not seem anywhere near as strong as in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the management of the clothing industry in working out problems of the union and problems of management.

As this is a comparatively new union, the Education Department is still building and expanding at a terrific rate. In time this department will be well organized and coordinated so that it will be as complete in every detail as some of the older unions' departments. Also this department will be serving the largest membership of any union in the world. This is one of the main reasons it is taking time to develop, because of its huge membership.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONWIDE AGENCIES, RESIDENT SCHOOLS, AND POLITICAL SCHOOLS

There are several types of organizations which promote workers' education. Besides unions, education of this kind is promoted through such national bodies as the American Labor Education Service (formerly Affiliated Schools for Workers), the Workers' Education Bureau, through various resident schools and political schools, and when the W.P.A. was functioning, it did considerable work in this field. (The part universities play is not included in this chapter).

The American Labor Education Service, composed of individual members and affiliated groups, has recently assumed new responsibilities and made possible new services. It offers educational facilities to trade unions, workers' education committees, clubs and classes, local labor colleges, community groups as well as to the resident schools.

In recent years, this group has expanded its functions so it now serves all types of workers' groups. It aids local bodies throughout the nation in their educational problems. It is considered a source for all types of study material, and it finds teachers by means of its Registry, and finally, it furnishes advice and information to students and organizations. Included in its many activities is the publication of pamphlets, bibliographies,

lists of plays, etc.. The A.L.E.S.(1) sponsors and helps to set up regional conferences where several groups or organizations wish to get together and discuss a current problem such as Veterans' Housing, Taxes, etc.

One of the important operations of this agency is running teacher training seminars and workshops. Here education directors of unions come to learn new methods of teaching, and new courses and programs that should be added to their own programs in their unions.

Its board of directors contains members of the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. unions, some of these unions have made grants to its limited financial resources. At present, Miss Eleanor Colt is the A.L.E.S's. director.

This agency conducts conferences all over the United States. An example is the New England conference held in 1939. Representatives of 26 A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions and of many other workers' groups came together from 44 communities to discuss an education program for workers in New England area. A special meeting, for teachers only, was conducted, in order to get more teachers interested in helping to educate workers by giving their services. Methods for carrying on drama and other new programs were discussed. Special displays of workers' education material was set up and explained to heads of union education departments and to teachers. Early the

(1) A.L.E.S. stands for American Labor Education Service.

next year a similar conference was held in Chicago and teachers and leaders from 28 states attended.

Since 1924, every year on Washington's Birthday a conference of teachers on workers' education has been held. It was formerly run by Brookwood Local 189 of American Federation of Teachers; now it is sponsored by the A.L.E.S. In 1940, 46 national and local unions sent representatives.

This organization, the A.L.E.S. could do far more work if its financial resources could be considerably augmented. Much of its financial resources come from grants of foundations, gifts from the general public, fees for courses given by this agency, and donations from unions. Its basic plans and operations are very sound, but they do not go far enough. More conferences should be conducted each year so that the workers' education programs could be more uniform throughout the country. The activities of the A.L.E.S. are expanding and with some financial aid could really do a great deal to promote and better workers' education in the United States.

In 1921, the Workers' Education Bureau, the educational agency of the American Federation of Labor, was founded. The purpose of the Bureau was originally to act as a clearing-house of information and guidance in the development of workers' education in the United States. It has carried on its original aim, but it also has enlarged its

activities and become the recognized agency through which the A.F.L. carries on a workers' education program for its more than seven million members.

This Bureau is a cooperative educational agency created and supported by the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor and more than 500 National and International Unions, State Federation of Labor, Central Bodies, Local Unions, and Workers' Educational Enterprises. The activities of this Bureau is directed by an Executive Committee of fourteen members. The President of the A.F.L. appoints six of them.

The Workers' Education Bureau has established eight types of educational services.

First, the Bureau assists unions in organizing study classes, forums, weekend conferences, summer schools, and lecture courses, for the consideration of economic, social, and industrial problems that are of interest to their members. Further along this same line, the Bureau has organized Labor Institutes in thirty-eight states, which have brought together organized labor and educational institutions for the consideration of economic and industrial problems. The first venture in this field, the Rutgers Labor Institute, held its 17th annual session in June, 1947.

From the start, the Bureau has recognized the need for preparation of special educational materials for adult workers. It has published over a hundred titles, consisting of books, manuals, pamphlets, bibliographies, and outlines.

Along with this the Bureau maintains an extensive library of books, pamphlets, and visual materials for the use of its members. It also will supply members with any book which is in print.

A monthly News Letter containing news about the workers' education movement in the United States is sent throughout the year to all affiliated organizations and members. Articles on current questions concerning labor and economic problems also are sent to the A.F.L. membership periodically.

Over the past fifteen years the Bureau has done considerable work in radio broadcasting. It advises unions on educational broadcasts. For sometime it has prepared scripts and distributed them to unions seeking help in this type of venture.

This agency does research work on education projects upon receiving requests from affiliated organizations. Plans now call for more money spent in additional research in many problems, such as, veteran needs, new education methods, etc.

Finally, the Bureau maintains a free registration service both for teachers and workers' groups interested in workers' education. This has proved to be invaluable to small locals, particularly, that do not have enough money to carry on large education programs.

The Workers' Education Bureau is financed by

grants from the American Federation of Labor, foundations, and affiliated unions. Until 1935 the A.F.L. contributed only $200 a year, in the 1940's it increased its grant to $7,500. An interesting note is that in 1939 the A.F.L. spent $899,549 in organizing, the sum does not show that education is of any importance. Other funds come from the local unions, one cent per capita and from other foundations. (In 1940, the Carnegie Corporation gave $5000 to the Bureau.)

The importance of this agency is increasing day by day. From data analyzed it does not seem that the agency has expanded as rapidly as one might expect, but the demand for education is growing. This Bureau will help to fill this demand by its many functions.

Among the pioneers in the field of workers' education are the resident schools for workers. In 1941 there were six resident schools, five of them associated with the American Labor Education Service. They are the Highlander Folk School, the Hudson Shore Labor School, the Pacific Coast School for Workers, the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin, the Southern School for Workers and the Summer School for Office Workers. The courses vary in length and purpose. Their policies and programs planned and built to meet the needs of the time they are given. White collar workers, as well as industrial workers, are among the students. Both men and women take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the schools. An

important thing is that they are independent bodies, governed by their own board of directors, although they are closely linked with the labor movement through cooperative relationships of many kinds. On these boards trade unionists and labor educators are included, especially those who have wide experience with the working groups. Unions help in establishing scholarships to these schools.

First school to be discussed is the Highlander Folk School which is located in Monteagle, Tennessee. In this area, the community educational program for the mountain people is an important part of the activity through which health, recreational and other community services are carried on.

Two resident terms are held each year, one in the fall and one in the spring, of six weeks each. It operates on a modest budget of only $10,000 to $11,000 (1941). The curriculum is made up of courses on: how to build the union; labor history; economics; dramatics; and cooperatives. The staff members, besides teaching, do considerable field work in helping to organize neighboring towns, and in providing entertainment and education for these groups. A movie, "People of the Cumberland", tells the story of this school and its work. In 1941 considerable pressure was being put on this school by a group of conservatives, but several unions came to its support. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt also helped to keep the school in operation.

The Hudson Shore Labor School (formerly Bryn Maur Summer School for Women Workers) opened its new quarters in June, 1939, at West Park, New York. Students come from the East and East Central states. This school conducts a seven week summer session which forms the main part of its program. Facilities are also available for short institutes conducted for various unions. These unions plan and finance these institutes with the cooperation of this school in setting up the educational programs. In 1939 and 1940 institutes were held by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Laundry Workers' Union.

In 1925, the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin was started. It draws its students entirely from the middle western states, and it builds its programs of education around the trends of the labor movement in that particular region. For periods of six weeks at a time, men and women (43 is the average enrollment) come from a variety of trades to study. An increasing number of two-weeks institutes are conducted in cooperation with various unions.

By means of a state subsidy and help from the W.P.A., a program of local winter classes was carried on all over Wisconsin. Rural workers, as well as urban workers, took part in this program. In 1937 and 1938, the

first years of this new program over 5300 students registered for 83 classes run in 35 cities and 21 rural classes in 8 counties. There were 25 teachers employed in the urban program, and 35 in the rural one.

After the state elections in the late part of 1938, the program was greatly curtailed. The summer school was kept, but the winter classes were reduced and the program lost many of its best teachers. Although this happened, the University kept up its programs the best it could. Research work was carried on. Today it is known as one of the best schools of its type in the country. Some of its curtailed activities have been stepped up and the school is functioning normally again. Like all other workers' education organizations and schools, it is not doing all the work it plans to in the future.

The Pacific Coast School for Workers was organized in 1933 and is also a sectional school, serving men and women that live in its vicinity. During the four-weeks summer course at Berkeley, the subjects offered include labor history, labor economics, labor journalism, English, European social and political movements, negotiations and arbitration, public speaking, and agricultural economics. Organized by special arrangement with local bodies, winter work of the school was extended to include classes in San Francisco and Oakland in 1940.

This school receives support from both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions. Weekend institutes have been set up and

a varied program of visiting lecturers and debates scheduled. "The Yearbook" written by the students at this school gives a true picture of just what the activities and purpose of its program really are.

The Southern School for Workers has carried on a unique piece of labor education in the South. It has a six-weeks summer course for men and women and for agricultural, as well as industrial workers. It also has a winter program of conferences, classes, and local educational services for unions. In 1940 this school provided both the Hosiery Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with weekend institutes. The graphic arts workshop, emphasis upon dramatics and singing, and attention to time studies were features. Also in 1940 this school ran a joint conference with the Highlander Folk School. Like other summer schools, it issues a scrapbook by its students showing the work done at the school.

Of this group of schools, the Summer School for Office Workers is the only school especially set up for white collar workers, although such workers are included in the student bodies of other schools. A four-week school and a two-week institute are carried on, planned in accordance with the vacation schedule of workers, who come from all parts of the country but the Pacific Coast. In addition, a seminar for prospective teachers of workers' classes is also held. There is no set location for this school. In 1941 it was held in Chicago. There is very little information

available on this school.

These schools have a certain uniformity as they have been associated together over a long time. Much time and thought have been given to the methods of teaching adult workers, carrying on their study over a period of years through analysis and experimentations. Each school has tried to develop its program to meet the special problems of the area where the school is located and from where the students come from - usually they are both in the same area. The schools have changed their programs from year to year to meet the changing conditions and the new trends. A good example of this is the new short courses and union institutes which have been added to the longer sessions. Mark Starr, education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, believes the most outstanding service these schools have made is their contribution to a knowledge of methods and lesson materials of teaching in the field of workers' education.

The various labor political groups run their own schools. In New York, there are the Workers' School (Communist Party), the Debs School (Socialist Party), and the Rand School (Social Democratic Federation). Attempts are made to establish branches of these schools in other cities. The classes are open to non-party members, but they are closely associated in the public mind with a particular political group.

At the Rand School, courses in Socialism - its theory and practice, current problems, cultural and "tool" subjects, and a trade union institute are included in a program of over 25 items.

The approach of the Workers' School (communist party) is revealed by its literature. In an outline, "Trade Unionism: Theory and Practice" (April, 1940) the first 14 pages of reading material are quotations from A. Lozovship "Marx and the Trade Union", and Engels' "British Labor Movement". Excerpts from the monthly journal "The Communist", from Marx "Value, Price, and Profit", and from Lenion's "Left Wing Unionism" etc.- these serve as a sample of the literature used. The organ of the Communist Party claimed in September 29, 1940, that the Workers' School was "an entirely different kind of educational institution" and a training ground for Marxist-Leninists". The popular course in the school is on "History of Communist Party of the Soviet Union". This is a brief picture of the operation of the main political schools in the country.

The material in this chapter has been based on articles written by Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and pamphlets prepared by the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

CHAPTER V

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITY

Workers' Education as a movement in the United States developed after World War I with the first experiments at Amherst College, the Brookwood Labor College at Katonak, New York, and summer schools on the campuses of Bryn Mawr, Barnard, Wisconsin. Later other institutions added courses and programs in this field to their curriculums.

People within the university ranks did most of the foundation work in the founding of these programs and courses in these colleges. Problems of planning and control, teaching methods, and questions of administration were faced and worked out in the university, and later developed and expanded in the field.

In the last few years workers' education in universities has expanded greatly. There are several reasons for this. One, programs have been started because the colleges believe it is an untapped resource for students and funds. The other is the desire to be a part of one of the major areas of contemporary life, the trade union movement. Whatever the reasons are this development of this field has reached the stage of a movement itself.

One of the most recent phases is the recognition of this field of education by state legislatures. They

have appropriated substantial funds in Michigan, New York, Rhode Island, and Illinois for the promotion of educational activities including education services to workers. These state funds go almost entirely to universities.

A very interesting note here is that universities on the whole, except the University of Wisconsin whose activities have been continuous from early years, are attempting to build their programs from scratch, on the purposes and ideas of the universities' leaders, at present. It is not known whether the universities do not know much about the early experiences or whether they are just forgetting about the past, and are building a new course to workers' education.

There are many problems that the universities face. Faculties and administrators in these schools have had little contact with labor, on the most part. They have shown little or no aptitude in dealing with workers in the college class room. They also lack knowledge and experience in the teaching methods which have been found to be effective in workers' education through the years.

Next, it is impossible to get the objectives of workers' education in universities uniform. A university is the place for the development of independent, and individual thought. Many times it is difficult to get members of a university faculty to all agree on a point or a program, let alone all universities agreeing in the country. In most cases a workers' education program is set up and

started because a key individual had an interest and a plan which the university administration was willing for him to carry out. These programs reflect the thinking and the efforts of their directors.

Another consideration to be brought up is that there are three distinct types of universities in the United States: public institutions, dependent for funds to the legislatures and accountable to them for the use of the funds; privately endowed institutions, governed more or less by self-perpetuating boards of trustees; and finally, sectarian institutions, having some latitude in certain areas of knowledge, but in others disciplined to the indoctrination of a particular faith and church. It would be a coincidence to find an agreement among these three types of institutions as to their objectives in the field of labor education.

As publicly supported institutions, the public institutions have a responsibility to serve all elements in their state or municipality. Labor is one of those important elements. Responsible individuals have expressed this idea. The President of Wayne University says, "As a municipal university in a city composed largely of industrial workers, whose young people are the children of workers, Wayne cannot escape responsibility to serve this group, whether or not special funds are made available to the University for this purpose." Rhode Island State College views its new program of workers' education as a normal development

for a state-supported institution in an industrial state.

Privately endowed institutions consider Workers' Education an opportunity rather than a responsibility to serve labor. They must raise special funds from foundations and other sources to which all privately endowed universities must turn to get funds to undertake special projects. These schools must justify their ventures, that is, each project undertaken must make a contribution to the university. The private institutions are under no compulsion to meet the educational needs of labor.

The role and responsibility of sectarian institutions appear in yet another light. There are twenty-two labor schools (1) affiliated with the Jesuit Institute of Social Order, all are part of a common program, stemming from the Vatican. The function of these schools are all the same, but their methods, emphasis, and organization, vary on the basis of the leadership provided by each school's director. Their reason for existence and their basic principles are contained in the Papal Encyclicals on the Social Order. Their general goal is to rid trade unions of communist influence and to promote harmonious labor relations based on mutual respect, an acceptance of the principles of collective bargaining, and to recognize the moral obligation as well as the economic interest of all parties concerned.

(1) Labor Education in Universities - by Caroline F. Ware - page 16.

As is true with private institutions, the sectarian schools are not confronted by the same problems of responsibility to the tax-paying public which beset the public universities. They are free to use any methods of financing, free to recruit and select students on any basis, to attempt to fill any segment of labor's educational need, and to make available any number of education resources it wishes. These schools are guided only by their judgment as to the most effective contribution which they can make to the field of workers' education.

As these universities and schools set up education programs, they have to decide what element among workers they will try to reach. Will it be officials, committeemen, or just members that their programs will reach? Harvard University, stressing problems of administration, aims its program largely at the officials of unions, such as international vice-presidents, with members of local union education committees holding some of the fellowships. Yale's program is for the research director, the editor, or other members of staffs of the various unions. Wayne University and Detroit University serve the needs of young trade unionists who might hope to make trade unionism a career. The University of Michigan carries its extension program into the union halls to reach the rank and file members. There is some feeling that the universities should not attempt to reach the members of unions, but to let the unions and public schools teach the elementary courses in collective bargaining, union counseling and parliamentary procedure. Then

have the universities every on the very advanced courses for the union leaders and committeemen.

Another problem that all universities have in common is the adapting of methods of instruction and educational resources, built for academically trained students to the needs of adult workers. Many of the workers which take courses at universities have very limited educational background.

It is widely agreed that most faculty members are not suited or equipped to teach workers' classes. Besides this, the faculty members have heavy teaching loads, and they would have little time to do any additional teaching. This means that additional teachers must be brought in from outside the universities. What status are the universities going to put these teachers in? Many do not meet the university standards and they lack academic training. Many have had a great deal of practical experience, but are unable to do any teaching. The universities have a real job to find people who have a direct knowledge of the labor movement, knowledge of the subject matter, and the ability to teach workers. A first step to help this situation, Michigan University may provide a workers' education teacher training program.

All types of universities face a further problem of how to relate their education programs to a labor movement which is divided and in which not all segments recognize the value of Workers' Education. Attempts have been

made to meet this situation in the following different, even opposite, ways: by offering services free; by charging a relatively high fee in order to place a value on the program; by recruiting individual workers; by recruiting groups of workers; by establishing labor advisory or policy committees; by deliberately avoiding such committees; by serving individual unions separately; by constant personal contact with key individuals in the labor movement; by avoiding a particular political faction; by various devices to sell the idea of education and its importance to the labor movement; and by attempting to disregard political factionalism and to serve all. As one can see from the above list, there is no single answer to this problem, at least at present.

A noteworthy example of working together is the program at Rhode Island State College. Here a very active labor advisory committee was formed consisting of representatives of A.F.L., of C.I.O., of the Brotherhoods, and of the Woonsocket Independent Industrial Union. This committee suggests the courses to be given, and it selects and approves the teachers to give the courses. It was found a full-time director would be needed to direct the program so the Dean of the college used available funds to provide one. The committee selected the director. This director heads up the program and works with the committee to get ideas and the latest education needs of the union in that area. There is a definite trend toward joint

activity and support for workers' education even among unions that are far apart on other matters.

The universities face the question of whether their activities are to be in the field of workers' education only, or to include programs in industrial relations, serving management as well. The problem is whether to combine labor-management into the same classes, have separate classes, or for each university to concentrate on one, or the other. The results range from purely workers' education programs at University of Michigan, through the separate labor and management programs at the Chicago Industrial Relations Center, or separate programs with some joint classes at Harvard and Yale, to the labor-management contract seminars at Rockhurst College, and finally, labor and management representatives combined in classes at St. Joseph's College Institute.

All universities share the problem of whether or not the labor education programs will fit into the work of other types of students. Undergraduate and graduate study in the field of industrial relations is developing. This trend is apparent in all three types of colleges previously explained. The outstanding development is the full fledged School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell with a full four-year undergraduate curriculum and a provision for graduate study. A newly established major in labor relations for the Ph.D. degree has been set up at the University of Chicago.

Next, content and arrangement of these programs will be shown through examples of universities and schools which have resident programs, resident institutes, short institutes, extension courses of universities, and programs at Jesuit labor schools.

Table II

Programs of Labor Education in Universities

Resident programs -

Yale	Harvard
Basic courses -	
Collective bargaining and unionism -	Economic of collective bargaining -
Structure and functioning of the social economy -	Economic analysis -
	Economics of wage structure - (1944-1945)
	Economic problems of American industry -
Cultural and psychological aspects of collective bargaining -	Problems of psychology -
Labor legislation and law -	Problems of unions in dealing with government agencies -
Comparative economic systems -	
Technical Courses -	
Personnel management -	The supervisor and union labor -
	or
	Human problems of administration -

Resident programs (continued)

Personnel and management controls -

Production organization - Production, organization and engineering -

or

Production management - accounting and analysis of financial statements - Job evaluation plans -

Labor Law Problems arising under the Wagner Act -

Administration of labor legislation -

Industrial and economic statistics -

Arbitration and mediation of labor disputes - Trade union policies and the administration of trade agreements -

Trade union structure and functions -

Resident Institutes -

Depending on the needs of a particular union the content of the one and two-week institutes at the Wisconsin School for Workers. In the summer of 1945 the following courses were offered :

Courses dealing with special union problems -

Labor problems in wartime.

Collective bargaining under WIB directives.

Trade unionism, its history, structure, and functions.

Current issues in the fields of labor and industry.

Union administration.

Civil service and government employees.

Union bookkeeping and finance.

Recent state and national labor legislation.

Time and motion study, and rate determination.

Job analysis and evaluation.

General economic and social questions -

Our changing economic order.

Pressure groups in American society.

Postwar problems.

Current national and international events.

The economics of specific industries.

Education in the democratic society.

The industrial community.

Consumer problems and consumer cooperatives.

Tool subjects -

Parliamentary law and public speaking.

Labor journalism.

Workers' education techniques.

An institute for business agents included courses in current labor legislation, economics, labor history, collective bargaining, postwar problems.

An institute for State, County, and Municipal Workers included courses in economics, collective bargaining, our

changing economic order, civil service, federal policy and procedure.

Short Institutes -

The short institutes conducted in cooperation with the Workers' Education Bureau focus on a single current problem, such as postwar reconstruction.

Table III

Extension Courses Offered to Meet Requests of Labor

Number of classes in October-November, 1945

University of Michigan	Wayne University	Rhode Island State (courses planned - number of classes not set X)
Collective Bargaining - 5	4	X
Union Counselling - 3		
Time Study - 3	2	X
Parliamentary Procedure - 2	2	X
Consumer Cooperation - 2	Consumer Problems - 2	
Current problems in labor relations - 1	1	
Union administration - 1		
Shop steward training - 1	3	X
Public Speaking - 1	1	X
Role in strengthening democracy - 1		
History of the labor movement		X

University of Michigan	Wayne University	Rhode Island State (courses placed - number of classes not set X)
Labor legislation -		X
Publicity Workshop		
Labor play production		Mediation and arbitration.
Industrial health and safety - 2		Job evaluation
Radio workshop - 1		Elements of economics
Journalism and creative writing - 1		Principles of unionism
Family relations - 1		Grievance procedure
		Bookkeeping, accounting, business communication

Table IV

In 1945 in 17 Jesuit labor schools the following courses were offered -

Parliamentary law	12 schools
Public Speaking	12 schools
Labor Law	11 schools
Labor-management relations	10 schools
Economics	9 schools
Labor History	9 schools
Labor problems	8 schools
Social justice (encyclicals)	7 schools
English composition	6 schools
Democracy and labor	6 schools
Ethics	5 schools
Contract making	4 schools

(courses continued on next page)

Grievance procedure	4 schools
Speech writing	4 schools
Collective bargaining	3 schools
Psychology	3 schools
Psychology of labor-management relations	3 schools
Logic	3 schools
Christianity	2 schools
Debating	2 schools
Government	2 schools
Public Relations	2 schools
Social ethics	2 schools

Administrative agencies, constitution, dramatics, cooperatives, job analysis, labor forum, leadership, philosophy, rights and duties of labor, shop stewards, social leaders, social security, Spanish, trade unionism, union meetings, union methods, wage determination at one school each.

In the Yale and Chicago University programs, research is more important than teaching. Cornell's School has a research service which works for labor, management, and community groups in the field of industrial and labor relations. There are plans at the University of Illinois to do the same thing.

Yale and the University of Chicago centers have different approaches to research. Yale has its own staff of persons to carry on research work in the field of labor and labor relations. As the results of the research projects become known, they are immediately made available to the trade

union fellowship students. By doing this, it will permit the research materials to be used for teaching purposes, and for the study of the trade union fellows, in order to get their criticisms and reactions of the work done.

The University of Chicago contracts outside experts in other universities, unions, government, and elsewhere, to carry out each project of research for a specified fee. The main purpose of its research is to find effective ways of presenting for discussion and analysis the many problems that are involved in labor union administration.

Harvard and Yale have made use of case studies and new research materials in their trade union classes. Actual labor problems have been analyzed and completely written up. Also companies, with their histories, and operating policies, their labor records, etc. have been carefully studied and written up in case form. Then these classes take these cases and discuss them, and try to work out solutions to the case problems. The information and knowledge gained from these discussions are invaluable, as many of the ideas and solutions to the cases are given by experienced men in the various fields of management and labor.

This chapter is based on the book, "Labor Education in Universities" by Caroline F. Ware and material provided by the Workers' Education Bureau, and material provided by several colleges, namely, Harvard and Rhode Island State College.

CONCLUSION

This chapter will be broken up into three sections; the first, problems and what has been done to eliminate them; second, views of major advances in Workers' Education; and third, future advances in this field.

Problems and what has been done to eliminate them.

The newspapers in the United States give very little attention to Workers' Education and its developments. The labor press is also very inactive when it comes to promoting education activities, even though the unions supply the press with the latest bulletins, leaflets, and journals on the work being done in this field by the various unions. By this action of the press, union members and the general public know very little about the various union activities and educational programs being offered.

Some unions have regular radio programs which cover large areas of population. Others have wonderful weekly and monthly magazines and journals which explain the courses and programs which will be offered in the future. Another way to interest union members in these programs is to build a program where the whole family can take an active part. Women Auxiliaries are formed by several unions. Here women take domestic courses, do Red Cross or Social work, lead campaigns to get people to buy union made goods, and to conduct activities for children. Junior unions have been set up by many unions for

the youth. Here classes in dancing, sport programs, choirs, and summer camps are provided for the children of union members. As one can see, a drive has been on to interest the whole family of a union member to better themselves in many ways.

Unions are faced with the problem of finding unbias text books, qualified teachers, and adequate classrooms, to conduct and operate their education programs. Pressure and reactionary groups try to get control and run these classes. Many of the textbooks are dies or far too difficult for the average union member to understand. Classrooms are hard to find. When public schools are used the fixed seats are not conducive to discussion circles of adults. As many education directors have to raise their own money for these classes, especially in local labor colleges and resident schools, a teacher does not have a secure job, for when the funds run out the person has to be laid off. This makes it difficult to get qualified instructors.

Some of the large unions have written their own text material to fit the needs of the programs and the union members. Classrooms that are especially built for discussion groups are now found in some of the new union headquarters. Also union libraries and space for many people to sit and read are found in some of the new buildings built by unions for their members. Outside agencies, such as the American Labor Education Service, now have a

service which provides a list of qualified teachers for the various courses given by the unions. Teachers are more available and willing to work as their jobs are more secure. When the teachers are through teaching at a resident school, for example, teachers are then placed in other programs and schools which may be just starting. Union leaders more and more see the need for education. The grants of money for these programs have been gradually increased over the years. Still many unions do not build up their education programs as might be expected. The money instead is mostly spent on organizing, etc.

Another serious difficulty is the strong desire of each union to organize and run its own separate education program. Many small unions cannot afford programs, and some of them can only afford to run one every so often. Some union leaders expect immediate results from their projects and if they don't get it, they cancel the programs. When the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. split, it automatically strengthened this individualism. The American Labor Education Service and the Workers' Education Bureau have tried hard to get nation-wide education programs. The results have been very disappointing. The large unions have in some cases made the education programs uniform in all their locals. Also this lack of unity and joint interest have caused many resident schools and summer schools to fail.

View of major advances in Workers' Education.

Workers' Education has broadened its scope to include a wide variety of activities in both culture and recreation. Many projects such as, dramatics, radio, camera clubs, hikes, tap dancing, visual and graphic presentation of material, recreation, and music, as well as classroom work is now carried on through Workers' Education. Unions have set up health facilities for workers, vacation homes, and opportunities for the whole family of a union member to enjoy many recreational and educational programs. Other parts of this Workers' Education movement is the development of vocational training, the study of social sciences, many courses of learning-by-doing projects, and leadership training for union service. There is an increase in the amount of research, information, and publicity services provided by unions and outside agencies on this movement.

Future advances in this field.

There will be more training centers for teachers in this work and an expansion in summer school facilities. Publications will be in greater quantity and in much better quality due to past experiences in writing text material. Along with this, more educational radio programs will be broadcast over the United States. Youth activities will be built up so as to keep the whole family interested in this movement. Greater aid from state federations and city central labor unions can be expected as labor leaders find how

important education is, and the importance of uniformity of work throughout the United States.

The future of Workers' Education is somewhat doubtful after the recent election. All unions now plan to build up their memberships first and the remaining funds will be used for education, etc.

In this research an attempt has been made to show the problem and importance of educating workers to be a better asset to themselves, their families, their employers, and their country. The part that unions, Government, state and federal, general public, universities and schools, and outside agencies have played and are playing to handle this problem has been carefully analyzed and discussed in this thesis.

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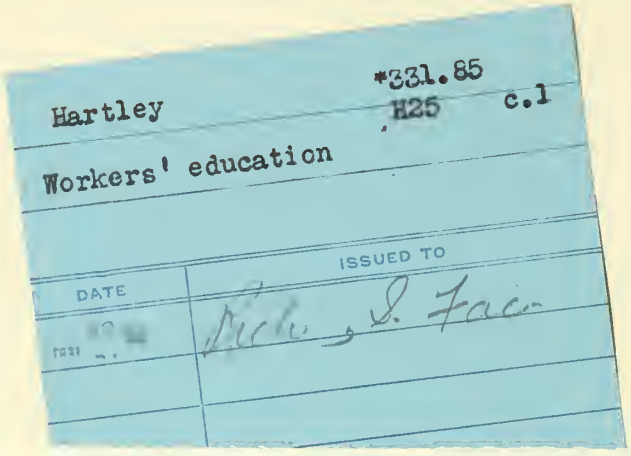

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